

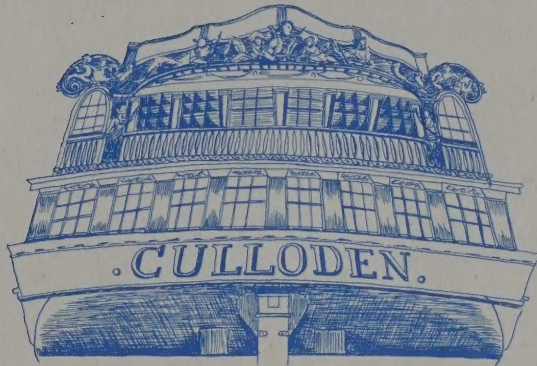
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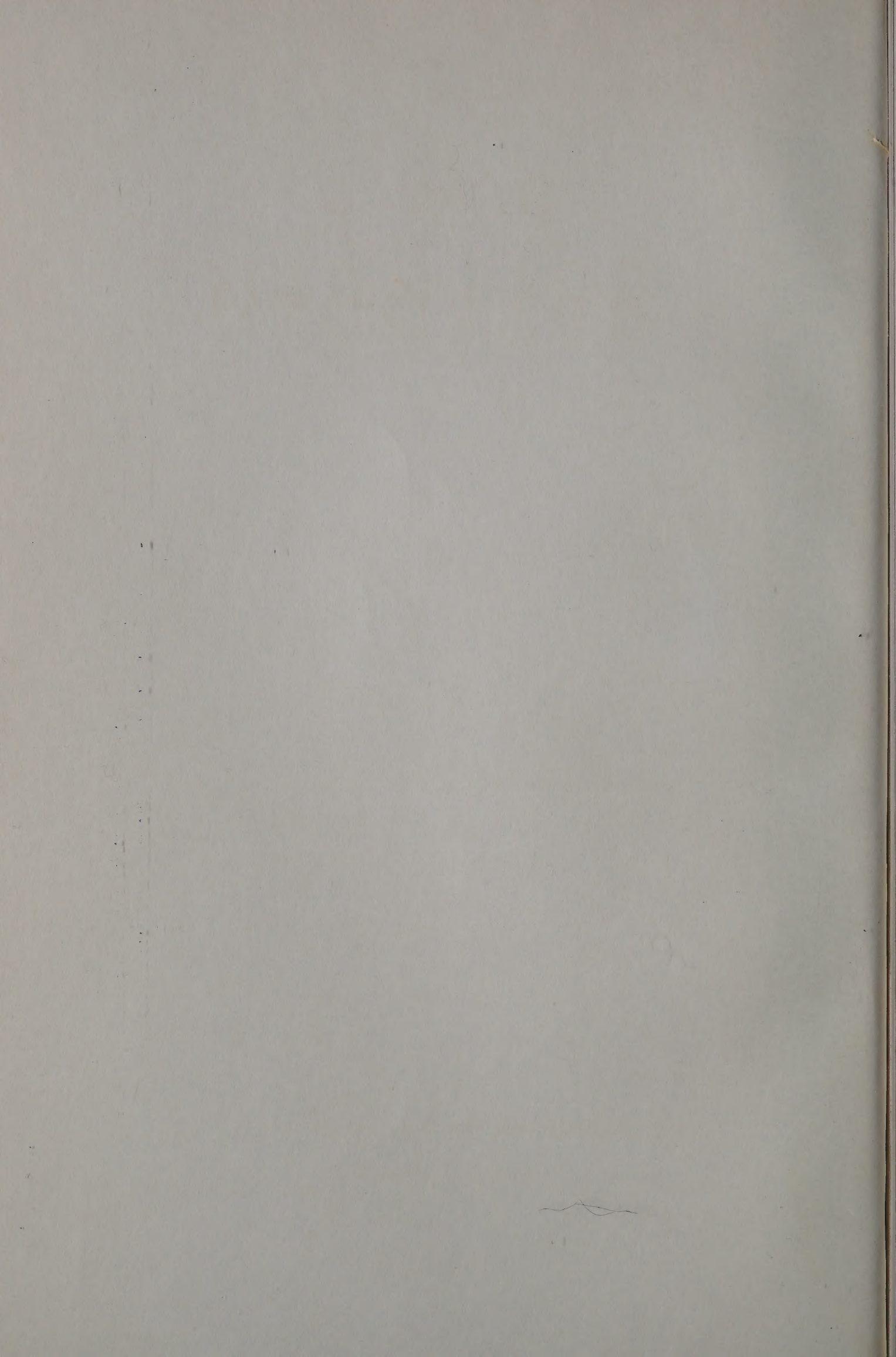
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H. M. S. CULLODEN



THE MARINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, INC.

MYSTIC, CONNECTICUT



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H. M. S. CULLODEN

By

FREDERICK P. SCHMITT

AND

DONALD E. SCHMID

OF

CLUB SOUS-MARIN OF LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK

. . . devoted to undersea research and exploration

THE MARINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, INC.

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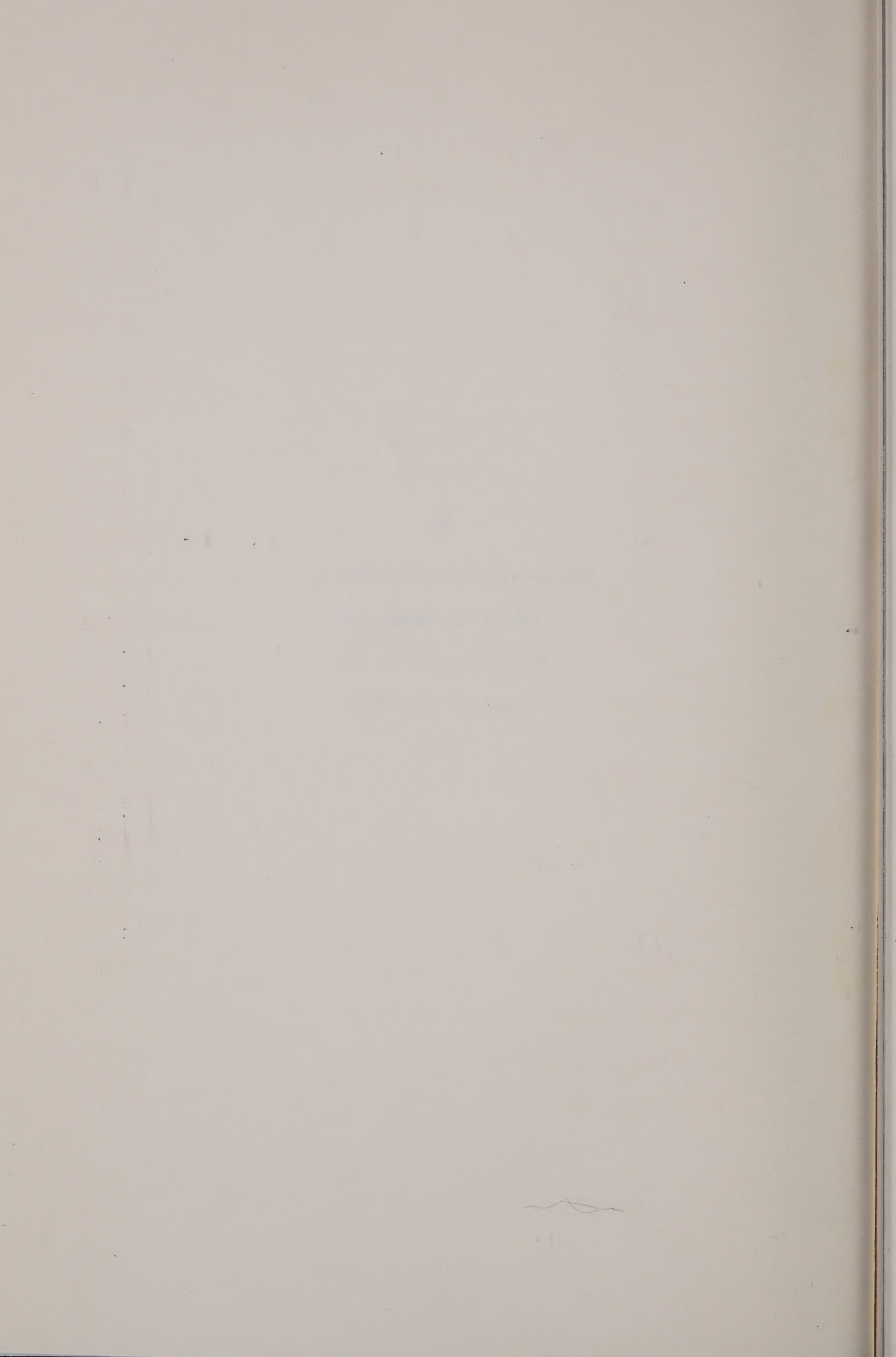
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To

JEANNETTE EDWARDS RATTRAY

whose writings and
inspiration were the
basis of this little
book.



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Wreck of the *Culloden*.

Drawing by Marion E. Malinka

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PREFACE

This small booklet is the product of many hours of pleasant labor by the members of Club Sous-Marin of Long Island. We hope that in some particular way it might serve as the impetus for further studies of the *Culloden's* fascinating history as well as the wreck-site so familiar to us.

We hope, too, that this effort will be the first of a series of monographs reflecting the interesting and exciting maritime history of our Island, so that readers far and wide might once again relive the adventures our native Long Islanders experienced so many years ago.

FREDERICK P. SCHMITT
DONALD E. SCHMID

*Her rattling shrouds, all sheathed in ice,
With the masts went by the board;
Like a vessel of glass, she strove and sank.
Ho! Ho! the breakers roared!*

—LONGFELLOW.

INTRODUCTION

When Mrs. Jeannette Edwards Rattray was writing her book *Ship Ashore* she found that the name "*Culloden Point*," on Eastern Long Island, had more than usual significance. The story of the huge Revolutionary War "seventy-four" of that name, which laid her bones there in 1780, intrigued her, and one day, when some eager young maritime historians visited her, she mentioned the instance.

Much to her delight Frederick P. Schmitt and Donald E. Schmid, together with Miss Marion Malinka and other members of the Club Sous-Marin of Hollis, Long Island, went to the wreck-site and discovered there were parts of the *Culloden's* timbers still in evidence.

This began much more than a search for the remains of a ship — it was the start of a thorough research task, in which Frederick Schmitt and his companions pieced together the complete story of the *Culloden*. Barely three and a half years old when she met her doom on the bleak, wintry shore inside Montauk, the "seventy-four" crowded a life-time of adventure in her career.

The result of the research of these young men is reflected in the following pages. Obtaining copies of the original draughts of the ship from the National Maritime Museum at London, through Dr. Frank Carr, the excellent Director of that institution, Schmitt and company proceeded to trace the story by utilizing Admiralty records, photostat copies of the log-book, and Long Island historical records.

Last summer the Club Sous-Marin held a meeting at the site of the *Culloden's* wreck, and the manuscript was read and discussed. More than that, the young researchers did some more underwater searching and found portions of the *Culloden* still resting off the shore as well as on the beach.

It is both a tribute to the zeal of these young maritime historians in general and to the perseverance of Mr. Schmitt in particular that this volume is published by the Marine Historical Association. And the encouragement provided by Mrs. Rattray is by no means to be forgotten, as the dedication clearly indicates.

EDOUARD A. STACKPOLE
Curator

I. CULLODEN POINT

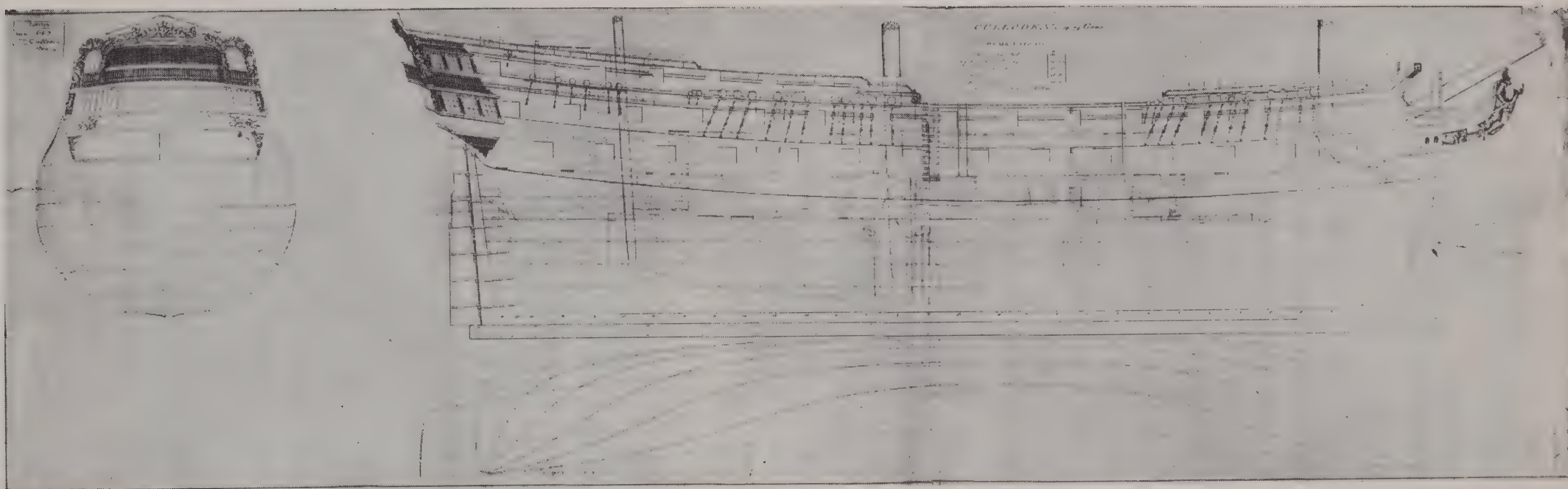
Not far from Montauk Point on eastern Long Island, there is a quiet, windswept beach where lie the last remnants of what was once a proud and stately ship-of-war. Few Americans, even Long Islanders, know of this vessel and her significance in the War of American Independence. Today, all that has survived over a century and three-quarters' battles with wind, tide, and elements, as well as man's relentless lust for salvage, are a few charred and decayed timbers and a number of scattered rusted spikes and pins.

While there are little physical remains of the ship today, her story, through careful and exacting research, may be found in old logs, magazines, books, letters, and documents. Many published accounts will contain fallacies and contradictions. All too frequently imagination and fancy must be separated from fact. In preparing a work of this kind, it is soon realized that historical writers on many occasions let suppositions flavor their writings in order to create a story. But we hope to give you, as far as possible, a true and complete story of a ship and her people, her voyages and adventures, her birth and her fate. The story is also a part of the great struggle for American freedom, but, also, a story of heroes and patriots under a different flag. This is the story of His Majesty's Ship *Culloden*.

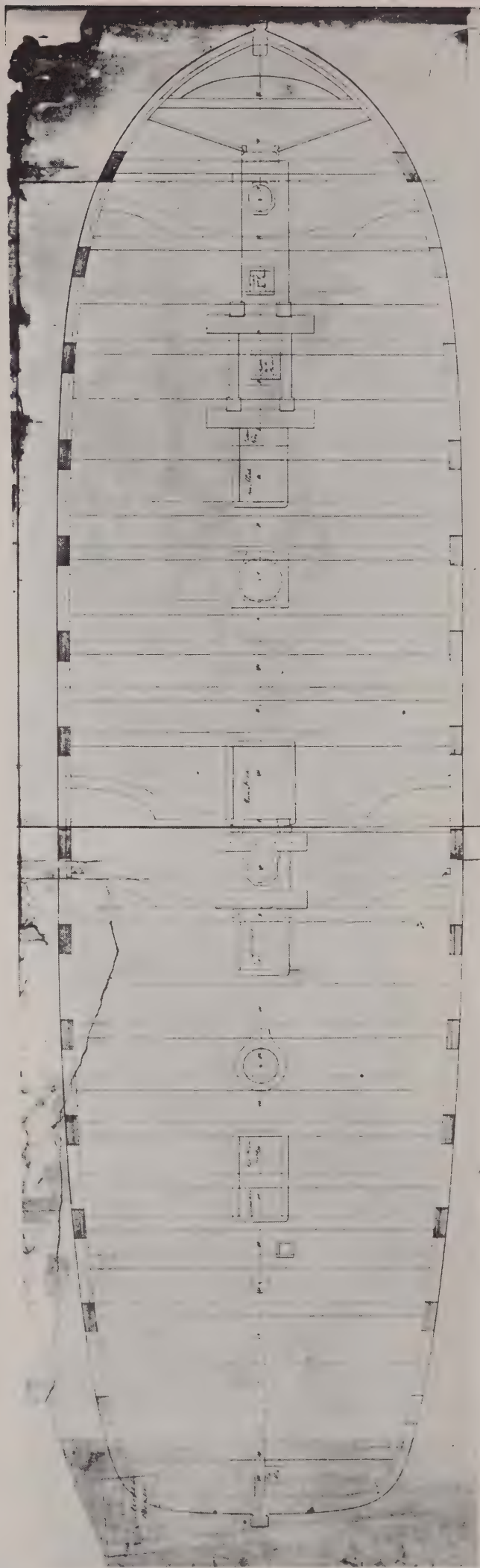
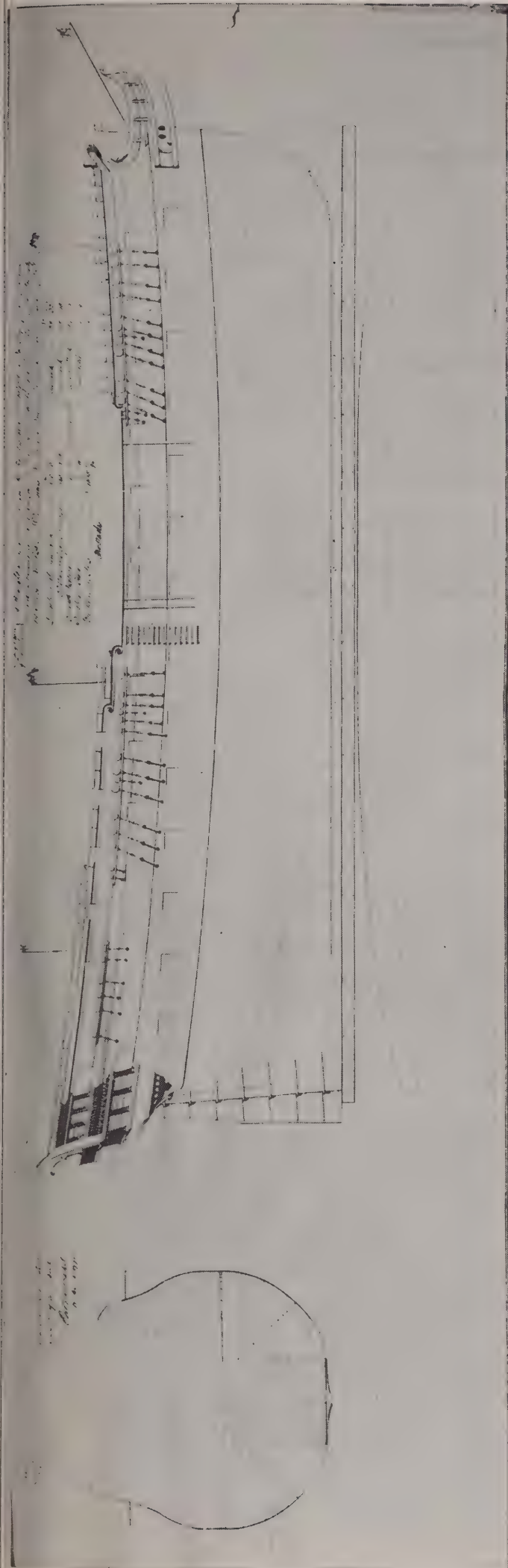


Photo by Donald E. Schmid

Last of the Culloden.



British Admiralty Draughts reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.



Profile and Deck View of the *Culloden*.

British Admiralty Draughts reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum.

II. BEGINNINGS . . .

The first ship to bear the name *Culloden* was built at His Majesty's Shipyard, Deptford in 1747. She had a long and varied career. After two decades of extensive service at the Continental and America Stations, the *H. M. S. Culloden* was sold out of service in June, 1770. The name was stricken from the Admiralty list of active ships, and so it was decided to use it again for the 74-gun frigate abuilding at Deptford. The original *Culloden* had been named in commemoration of the famous battle, in which Prince Charles, the Stuart pretender to the throne, was defeated by the Duke of Cumberland in Culloden Moor, Scotland in 1746.

With an increasing number of the ships-of-the-line becoming obsolete, the British Navy Office on March 9, 1770, submitted to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty:

A draught proposed for Building in His Majesty's Yard at Deptford, a New Ship of War of 74 Guns, prepared in pursuance of an Order from the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty dated the 30:TH of Nov:^R last. Dimensions Number and Nature of Guns as undermention'd.-Viz:—

	FEET	INS.
Length on the Gundeck	170	0
of the Keel for Tonnage	140	1-7/8
Breadth Extream	47	2
Depth in Hold	19	11
Burthen in Tons	N: ^o 1,658	52/94
	N: ^o	POUND
Gundeck	28	32
Upperdeck	28	18
To carry on the		
Quarter Deck	14	9
Fore Castle	4	9

The Lords responded with uncommon celerity in their decision, as the plans for the new "three-decker" were approved three days hence. Then, there were the usual preliminary arrangements, and her great keel was laid shortly thereafter.

The newly completed *Culloden* presented a proud sight when she was launched May 18th, 1776. Only the imagination can recreate the fine picture she made, what with her beautifully carved stern and a figurehead of the corpulent George III, newly painted and majestic, ready for the stormy adventures which were to lie ahead. Soon after she was launched, preparations were necessary for quartering the 650 officers and ratings who were to be her crew. Captain George Balfour was assigned master of the new third-rate, and the Lords made a wise choice, indeed, in selecting this man, who was to be her commander for the coming five years.

During her first year in commission, the *Culloden*, with several other third-rates, cruised off Cape Finisterre, Spain and preyed upon enemy munition ships bound for the American Colonies.

Late in the winter of 1777 Captain Balfour captured a small vessel out of the Carolinas bound for Bordeaux with a cargo of indigo, deerskins, tobacco, and rice. In the months following, the situation with France and Spain worsened, and Balfour was under orders to intercept commerce and destroy all merchant vessels engaged in trading with the enemy.

During that uneventful summer of 1777, the *Culloden* was stationed out of Portsmouth, England. On November 11th a small squadron was dispatched from Spithead under the command of Admiral Robert Digby. The squadron, consisting of *Ramilles*, *Royal Oak*, *Culloden*, *Resolution* (all 74 guns), and *Proserpine* (28 guns), cruised to the westward and the Bay of Biscay. A contemporary Admiralty report listed 532 sailors and 68 marines aboard the *Culloden* during that cruise, which is a large complement, considering her size.

Upon returning from the Bay of Biscay, *H. M. S. Culloden* was ordered to patrol the home waters with a squadron commanded by Admiral Keppel, but she soon was to sail for America.

III. QUEST FOR D'ESTAING

It was in mid-March, 1778, that the British government was officially notified of the treaty of alliance between the French and the revolting Colonies of North America. Realizing that war between Great Britain and France was inevitable, the British recalled Lord Stormont, and ordered their army to evacuate Philadelphia and fall back on New York. War with France followed swiftly.

At the beginning of hostilities between France and England, a French fleet of twelve ships-of-the-line and six frigates set out from Toulon on April 13th, 1778, bound for America. In command was Count D'Estaing, who was accompanied by M. Gerard, the first French minister to the United States. D'Estaing, and a company of four thousand men, aspired to intercept Admiral Howe's squadron and bottle them up in Delaware Bay.

Under secret orders, D'Estaing was instructed to begin hostilities when forty leagues west of Gibraltar. The French were reticent concerning his destination, and it was not until some eight weeks after D'Estaing had sailed that the British ascertained he was bound for America.

Realizing, at last, the intentions of the French, the British dispatched a force of thirteen sail-of-the-line, consisting of *Princess Royal* (90 guns), flagship; *Royal Oak*; *Culloden*; *Invincible*; *Bedford*; *Albion*; *Conqueror*; *Cornwall*; *Fame*; *Grafton*; *Russel*; *Sultan*; *Monmouth* (all 74 guns); and the frigate *Guadaloupe* (28), was ordered from Plymouth Sound on June 9th, 1778, Vice-Admiral John Byron commanding.

The first day out found the fleet facing gales from the southwest. After weeks of similar weather, on July 3rd, 1778, the fleet was separated by violent gusts and driving rains. The storm subsided at last on the following evening and only *Princess Royal*, *Invincible*, *Culloden*, and *Guadaloupe* remained together. The *Culloden* parted with the formation on the 6th. During the course of the voyage the other ships were separated from one another, and so on the 11th of August the flagship, *Princess Royal*, was alone. The adverse winds made the voyage to Sandy Hook very slow going. The *Culloden* had rejoined the *Princess Royal* on the 5th, but parted again on August 11th.

On the morning of August 18th Byron arrived off the coast of Long Island. The lookouts discovered twelve large ships lying at anchor about ten miles away. These were soon realized to be part

of the French fleet which had likewise suffered effects of the storms. Since the British were vastly outnumbered, Byron decided to forego sailing to Sandy Hook or Rhode Island, and head for Halifax, in order to gather the remainder of his dismembered squadron. Byron arrived there on August 26th to find the *Culloden* in a worn and battered condition. This was the only ship of the squadron which he had seen since his squadron had parted in the storm. While he had been separated from the squadron, Captain Balfour had thought it best to proceed directly to Halifax, where he arrived on August 16th.

The ships were fitted out with all possible dispatch, for the Admiral sailed shortly in company with the *Culloden*, the frigate *Diamond*, and the sloop *Dispatch*. Byron preferred to take smaller vessels because they were "clean ships and their commanders were well acquainted with the navigation of the coast."

The four ships made their way down the coast and, after calling at Newport to join Lord Howe, they eventually reached Sandy Hook to relieve Rear-Admiral Gambier on September 26th. Here it was found that the *Royal Oak*, *Conquerer*, *Fame*, *Sultan*, *Bedford*, and *Grafton* — the only remaining ships of the squadron to reach America — were in a deplorable state. They had reached New York on August 29th, and were still refitting when he arrived and assumed command from Rear-Admiral Graves.

With much effort the ships were finally refitted and on October 18th they sailed for Boston in search of Count D'Estaing. During this cruise the squadron was overtaken by a fierce gale. Disaster struck within the next few days. The *Somerset*, which had joined the formation later, was wrecked off Cape Cod with a loss of twenty men. The *Culloden* was dismasted and swept to sea, and she finally reached England, where she arrived in December at Milford Haven in a shattered state. This voyage was not entirely a loss, for she recaptured a French tender, the former British brig *Sandy*, taken by D'Estaing during the summer. With the loss of the *Somerset*, and two British men-of-war incapacitated, D'Estaing set sail for Martinique.

Through scanning the course of events during the fruitless chase of D'Estaing, in which two violent storms had overtaken his ships, it can be easily gathered why Admiral Byron was dubbed "Foul-Weather Jack." No doubt Byron's illustrious grandson George Gordon (Lord Byron), was inspired by the tales of his forefather's experiences, and reflected this influence in the many romantic works he penned.

IV. THE YEAR SEVENTEEN SEVENTY-NINE

D'Estaing's unfortunate efforts to help take Newport had found even the elements against him, with the hurricane of August, 1778, contributing the major blow, and he had taken his fleet to Boston, where he arrived on August 28. After remaining in Massachusetts for two months, D'Estaing sailed for the West Indies, arriving at Martinique on December 9, 1778.

With the advent of 1779, Spain joined France in an alliance with the Continentals and Britain found the Spanish fleet must be reckoned with in the overall plan of strategy.

After the adventuresome quest for Comte D'Estaing, the course of events experienced by the *Culloden* during the year 1779 was comparatively calm. In January the ship was with the fleet, again under the command of Admiral Byron, having sailed from England and joined a squadron from North America, to make a rendezvous with Rear-Admiral Barrington at St. Lucia. Soon afterward the *Culloden* returned to England.

Later that year a very strong fleet was assembled at Spithead, put under the command of Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, and the *Culloden* was stationed along the coast with several other small squadrons to prevent landing of French troops along the Channel cliffs. Young midshipman Prince William Henry, who later became William IV, was among the fleet's crew. The flotilla, consisting of thirty-five ships-of-the-line, was ever ready to repel a French invasion.

V. BATTLE OF CAPE ST. VINCENT (1780)

December 27th, 1779, Admiral George Brydges Rodney sailed with a great fleet for the West Indies. The *Culloden*, which was part of the command, sailed in company of a number of ships of her rate. Rodney, who was a skilful seaman, was to reprovision Gibraltar on the way to West Indies Station. A fleet of twenty-one men-of-war was sighted off Cape Finisterre at daybreak on the 8th of January, 1780, and believing it to be the enemy, the Admiral gave the signal for a general chase. After a fierce pursuit they finally captured the Spanish flagship, *Guipuscoano* (64 guns), which had been launched only six months previous. The Spanish Commodore surrendered the fleet of fifteen merchant ships, belonging to the Royal Company of Caracas, and seven naval escorts, consisting of the *Guipuscoano*, *San Carlos* (32 guns), *San Raefael* (30), *Santa Teresa* (28), *San Bruno* (26), *San Fermia* (16), and *San Vincente* (10) with a total of 1,295 men taken prisoner.

The Spanish fleet, which had sailed for San Sebastian on New Year's Day, was heavily laden with stores and provisions for the Spanish ships stationed at Cadiz, while the remaining cargoes were bale goods which belonged to the Royal Caracas Company. The merchant fleet was immediately dispatched to England in company of the *America* and *Pearl*. Those ships carried provisions, consisting of flour, wheat, naval stores, anchors, cables, and tobacco, destined to be taken to Gibraltar, which was sorely in need of supplies. Rodney took the prize *Guipuscoano*, put her in commission, and named her *Prince William* in honor of the midshipman Prince.

All during this time, Rodney had received repeated reports that a squadron under the Spanish flag, numbering fourteen sail-of-the-line, was cruising off Cape St. Vincent. With twenty-one ships-of-war, the *Culloden* among them, several frigates, and forty transports, he made his way towards the Cape. On the afternoon of January 16th, the *Bedford* sighted a fleet on the south east quarter and she signalled the flagship. As the ships lined up in battle formation, the enemy took note and started to retreat. Soon the sky grew dark and a vast fog smothered the waters. With blistering force a westerly gale lashed the vessels. There was much consultation between the Spanish captains, which gave the British considerable time in which to overtake them. The English were constantly gaining on the Spaniards and

finally came up before dark with the fast coppered bottom hulls in the lead.

The *St. Domingo*, which was slow sailing because she had one mast sprung, was the first to be attacked, but her staunch captain fought bravely. She was soon doomed between the cross fire of guns of the two seventy-fours. The little ship had managed to sink a British vessel, but soon she caught fire and when the flames reached the powder room she exploded with terrifying force. Witnesses, writing at the time, stressed the horror of the incident, and told how mangled survivors were hauled from the blood tinged waters still clinging to fragments of the ill-fated ship. *Phoenix*, the flagship of Admiral Don Juan Langara y Huarte, was finally taken at midnight. Of the eleven ships-of-the-line and two frigates which comprised the Spanish fleet, all were taken save the frigates.

During the battle the *Culloden* was in a squadron under Rear-Admiral John L. Ross. There being a very serious epidemic of small-pox aboard the British captor *Bienfaisant* (64 guns), Captain Macbride, in the interests of humanity, decided to leave Langara on his honor aboard the *Phoenix*.

One ship taken as a prize, the *St. Eugenio*, was entirely dismasted and practically destroyed after hours of relentless pounding. She was taken in tow to Gibraltar, but a strong southerly wind brought the victor and prize extremely close to the enemy port of Cadiz, and so rather than risk capture, they cut the hawser and set her adrift. The few Spaniards who remained aboard the derelict managed to reach Cadiz with great difficulty.

Both the British and the Spanish demonstrated extreme courage on that gloomy night, the latter fought to the very last, but the British had more gun-power. The following day the fleet was prepared. Admiral Rodney was pleased with his officers and men, having stated in his public letter that "they seemed actuated with the same spirit, and were anxiously eager to exert themselves with the utmost zeal, to serve his Majesty and to humble the pride of his enemies." Of the British, 32 men were killed, 102 were wounded, while the Spanish, in comparison, sustained an overwhelming defeat and suffered heavily in human losses.

VI. GIBRALTAR REPROVISIONED

Prior to the foregoing (on January 14th, 1780), Rodney had ordered Rear-Admiral Digby to lead the fleet into Gibraltar Bay. Digby immediately sent two frigates ahead to give notice of the arrival of his fleet with the fifteen prizes laden with supplies. They reached Gibraltar on the evening of the 19th. The Spanish fleet, which lay in the area, retired to survey the British, who hastily unloaded the provisions. After he had re-established the fortification at Gibraltar, Rodney set sail for the West Indies on the 12th of February.

The Spanish prizes, in company of the *Culloden* and a number of British war ships¹, set sail for England on the 18th under the command of Rear-Admiral Digby. On the 23rd of February the fleet fell in with a French convoy consisting of two ships of 64 guns, two large supply vessels, a frigate, and about thirteen ships bound for the Indian Ocean isle of Mauritius. The French, commanded by M. de Chilot, were on their guard, and Admiral Digby gave the signal for a general chase. One ship, the *Prothee*, was taken, as well as much silver bound for the East Indies, but the remainder escaped, and the British fleet resumed its planned course. After a long and wearing voyage, the *Culloden* and the fleet arrived at Portsmouth, England, on March 9th.

¹—Ships in company of the *Culloden*: *Royal George* (100 guns), *Prince George* (98), *Resolution*, *Bedford*, *Marlborough*, *Cumberland*, *Alfred*, *Shrewsbury*, *Monarch*, *Invincible*, *Alcide*, *Defence* (all 74's), *Bienfaisant* (64), *Apollo* (32), *Triton* (28), and the prizes: *Phoenix* (80), *Diligente* (74), *Princessa* (70), *Monarca* (70), *Prince William* (ex. *Guipuscoano*) (64).

VII. WITH RODNEY IN THE WEST INDIES

From March 9th to the 3rd of June, the *Culloden* lay over at Portsmouth to be reprovisioned, fitted out, and to give her officers and crew some much needed rest. On the 3rd of June, she set sail for America to reinforce Rodney at West Indies Station.

During April and May, Rodney had been in search of a French squadron rumored to be somewhere in the Leeward Islands. He finally fell in with them and fared rather poorly after a long and involved battle. Rodney, badly in need of assistance, asked that the *Russel* (74 guns) be brought down from New York, while a fleet was sent out from Portsmouth, England with Commodore Walsingham in command.

The *Culloden*, *Alcide* (74 guns), *Torbay* (74), *Endymion* (44), *Cyclops* (28), *Ayrel* (28), *Triton* (28), *Scarborough* (20), and *Beaver's Prize* (18) arrived with troops in time to join Rodney on 12th July. On the 17th he put to sea with the combined fleet and sailed for St. Christopher.

Throughout the summer the *Culloden* cruised the West Indies with this fleet. Walsingham wrote on June 4th, "... most of the men on the list entered on board of the *Culloden* since she came home; and added to their want of knowledge, they are the poorest, dirty vermin that ever came aboard a man of war." One wonders what prompted such general criticism and condemnation.

VIII. AN URGENT REQUEST

While Rodney was in pursuit of the French in the West Indies, Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot, Commander-in-Chief of North America Station since March, 1779, was having similar difficulties at New York. The French had just established a base with a squadron of seven ships-of-the-line and four frigates at Newport, Rhode Island, during the latter part of July. There were approximately six thousand troops quartered at the French station. Arbuthnot was hesitant to attack since there were over nine hundred sick men aboard his fleet at the time, so he decided to put into Gardiner's Bay and land on Gardiner's Island, where a hospital was set up in the overseer's house. Hay was spread on the floors, and many patients were attended in "T'Other House," as the building is known. Some of the sailors carved a checkerboard into the floor of an upstairs room, and it may still be seen to this day. A great number of men perished and their graves can be seen on the south east side of Study Hill, at Bostwicks, Cherry Harbor, and on Plumb Point.

Lieut.-General Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., the British Army Commander in North America, was irked with Arbuthnot's indecision, because he knew by establishing themselves at Newport, the French had an excellent base. Clinton was also angry because Arbuthnot had moved his ships from the fairly vulnerable, yet convenient waters off Whitestone, Long Island, to protected Gardiner's Bay. Clinton felt that it would be practically impossible to march his troops from New York to Gardiner's Bay to board the awaiting transports, in case another campaign, north or south of New York, was contemplated.

In August, Arbuthnot proposed a meeting with General Clinton in an effort to gain better co-operation between the British Army and the Navy. It was Arbuthnot and Clinton who held the keys to British success in the American War. After Clinton had made the miserable 120 mile trip from New York to East Hampton, arriving there on August 18th, he found that Arbuthnot was not in town to meet him. Needless to say he was more than mildly disturbed by this careless oversight.

Clinton had previously told Arbuthnot that he wanted to assign four thousand men to Arbuthnot's fleet to storm the French enforcements at Newport. Arbuthnot would not agree because the armaments, which were situated on a hill overlooking the channel,

were in his opinion too powerful. He believed that siege would only be possible with a *coup de main* of a great force of men. With the belief that he needed more armed might, Arbuthnot sent a plea to Admiral Rodney, who was then in the West Indies, asking him to send reinforcements.

On September 13th, 1780, Arbuthnot was greatly astonished and dismayed by the appearance of a large British fleet. This consisted of the *Sandwich* (90 guns), *Terrible*, *Russel*, *Centaur*, *Triumph*, *Culloden*, *Alcide*, *Torbay*, *Shrewsbury* (all 74's), *Yarmouth* (64), and *La Fortune* (42), as well as the *Boreas* (28), and *Greyhound* (24). They arrived at Sandy Hook after a long and treacherous voyage from the Leewards under the command of none other than Admiral George Brydges Rodney. When he had asked for assistance, little did Arbuthnot foresee that Rodney, a senior officer, would personally come to the scene. But it appears Rodney believed that de Guichen, the French Commander in the West Indies, was to join the Commander of the French North America Station in order to attack New York.

In Rodney's fleet there were five hundred sick men. These were immediately placed in hospitals at New York. The Admiral himself was in a bad state of health, since he suffered greatly from the gout. While the sick were healing, the ships were reprovisioned and repaired. Much of the caulking in the seams had loosened during the rough passage up the Atlantic Coast.

Much to Arbuthnot's wrath Rodney, as senior officer, immediately assumed command of North America Station. Arbuthnot refused to meet Rodney in New York. He made strong protests, but Rodney believed that there should be single control in the North American and West Indian waters. Admiral Rodney wrote to Arbuthnot on October 8th, 1780, and stated, "I am convinced no Man has His Majesty's Service more at heart than yourself;" and further: "It was not inclination which brought me . . . it was the duty I owed my King and my Country." Shortly thereafter Arbuthnot accused Rodney of "partial interfering with the American War."

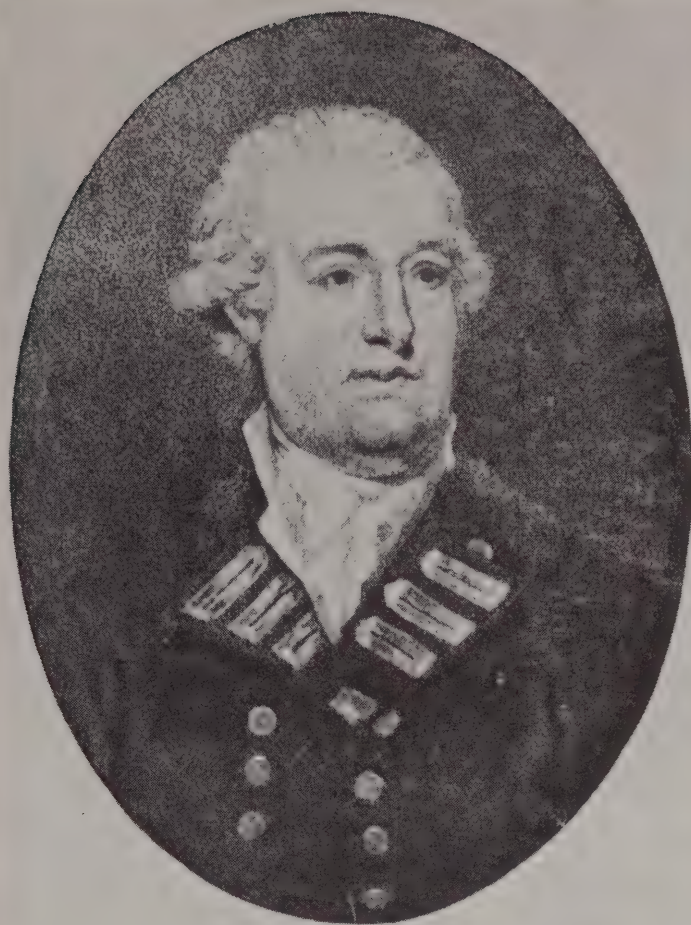
Rodney became enraged with Arbuthnot's complete disregard of his orders, particularly when he had dispatched a ship to England without Rodney's knowledge or permission. Rodney was so disturbed that he threatened to (and did) draft a report to the Admiralty, concerning the "unprecedented" actions of Arbuthnot. With his report of October 28th to the Secretary of the Admiralty, he sent copies of Arbuthnot's orders and stated "that they [the Lords of the Admiralty] may be convinc'd how much he has forgot himself, and



*George Brydges Rodney, Lord Rodney, K. B. Admiral
1st Admiral of England*

Courtesy of the New York Public Library

Admiral George Brydges Rodney, Lord Rodney, K. B.



ADMIRAL MARRIOT ARBUTHNOT.

(From a lithograph by H. R. Cook, after the portrait by Rising.)

Courtesy of the New York Public Library

how highly Disrespectful his Behaviour has been to Me his Superior Officer in issuing Orders to officers both Military and Civil in the Naval Department then under the immediate Direction of my Flag without ever Signifying to me he had done so." Strangely enough, Rodney's action was upheld by the Admiralty, even though he was originally designated specifically as the commander of the West Indies squadron, and his right to assume Arbuthnot's command was open to question.

One incident, which might well have caused a great measure of bad feeling between Arbuthnot and Rodney, concerned £ 3,000 in prize money. In October, Rodney had assigned Commadore Drake with the *Russel*, *Centaur*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Culloden* to assist Arbuthnot in cruising the area "between the South End of Nantucker [*sic*] Shoals and Montock Point." During this time an enemy vessel was taken and the £ 3,000 prize money went to Rodney, being senior officer, rather than Arbuthnot, who would have normally assumed title to the money. Most probably the ship concerned was the privateer *Washington*, carrying 20 six pounders and a crew of 120, which was taken after a chase of six hours by Arbuthnot and his

cruisers. On October 18th the *Culloden* came up alongside and took her for the Crown. The captured vessel was taken to New York in company of the *Prudent* and *America*, where she arrived late in October.

At this period in the war, the British navy had fifty-nine vessels of all classes on the North American station, including two of ninety guns each, eleven seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, three forty-fours and fourteen frigates. There were eleven vessels on the Newfoundland station and a strong fleet in the West Indies. Britain's entire naval strength totaled some four hundred and eighty vessels of all types.

The importance of the French fleet to the ultimate success of the Colonial cause was never more apparent than at this time. As Washington wrote to Vergennes in France: "Next to a loan of money, a constant naval superiority on these coasts is the object most interesting. This would instantly reduce the enemy to a difficult defensive and removing all prospect of extending their acquisitions . . ."

On the 8th of October, 1780, Admiral Rodney had sent orders to Rear-Admiral Graves, who was attached to the fleet at Gardiner's Bay, that if M. Ternay, who was the commander of the French forces at Newport, should attempt to run the blockade, Graves was to follow immediately and to intercept. It was believed that the French squadron was intended to reinforce Martinique. Likewise, Graves was told to send a frigate to Barbados and St. Lucia, with orders that all copper-bottomed ships were to join him [Rodney], upon his arrival. Graves was told to assume command until Rodney reached the Leewards, and was further asked to be prepared to report on the situation in the West Indies, when Rodney arrived.

IX. GARDINER'S BAY

Gardiner's Bay offered a perfect haven for the British fleet. Having an average diameter of six miles, with the depth of water ranging from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 fathoms, it offered good beating room for the larger vessels. It had three entrances — two from Block Island Sound and one from Long Island Sound by way of Plum Gut. This latter was the principal entrance, between Gardiner's Island and Plum Island and was the one used by the large ships of war.

When Rodney assumed command at New York, Arbuthnot and the fleet at Gardiner's Bay conducted themselves just as they had before the squadron arrived from West Indies Station. September 26th was a particularly festive occasion. Earlier in the month Admiral Arbuthnot and some of the officers had feasted at Abraham Gardiner's mansion in East Hampton. The British reciprocated and invited the Gardiner family, Dr. Samuel Buell, who was a famous minister and writer, Matthew and David Mulford, and several ladies to dine with them aboard the flagship *Royal Oak*. John Lyon Gardiner, the young owner of Gardiner's Island, his brother David, and the other youngsters ate in the ward-room with the midshipmen and lieutenants. Their elders feasted on curry, boned fowl, and a hotly seasoned dish called "The Devil." Dr. Buell was extremely fond of the preparation, and remarked that with fruit and women on board he wondered what might be the consequences, whereupon Arbuthnot thanked God that there were no "Eves" on board. Towards the closing of the dinner, a young Gardiner's Island lad sang "Tom Bowline," and later the officers joined in song.

As the meal drew to an end, Dr. Buell stood at his place and asked if he might read a verse which he had written before he had left home for the dinner. The gray haired clergyman was ceremoniously ushered to the head of the table, whereupon he reached into his pocket, drew out a slip of paper, and read the following lines, bowing to Graves and Arbuthnot, who did likewise, as their names were mentioned:

On board the *Royal Oak* we are,
Whose thunders Bourbon's navies fear:
To Britain's foes she never fails
To give them laws where e'er she sails.



Permission of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan
 Contemporary Map of Eastern End of Long Island During the American Revolution.

High in command upon the seas
She takes or sinks, just as may please
Her Admiral, great Arbuthnot
Whose fame shall never be forgot.

If but this gallant fleet appear
With celebrated Graves in rear,
Her flag fortells her lot will be
To hold the empire of the sea.

With laurel crowned, in dread array
The *London* cuts her foaming way;
The foe in vain shall heaven invoke,
Triumphant sails the *Royal Oak*.

Arbuthnot was greatly impressed with the doctor's effort, and he asked him for a copy of the poem. Dr. Buell's reading was not without repercussions though, for later he was accused of being a Tory, but it is said that he only co-operated with the British as an appeasement in order to protect the Eastern Long Islanders from retaliation. Shortly before this occasion, the people of East Hampton had boycotted a public allegiance to the Crown. Dr. Buell's gravestone best portrays his life:

Reader, behold this tomb with reverence and respect. Here lies the remains of that eminent Servant of Christ Reverent Samuel Buel, D.D. 54 years pastor of the same Church in this place. He was a faithful and successful minister of the Gospel, a kind relation, a true friend, a good patriot, an honest man and an exemplary Christian. He was born September 1, 1716, died in peace July 19th, 1798, aged 82 years.

After toasting the King's health, there was dancing on the main deck. At this time John Lyon Gardiner, then age ten, was introduced to Admiral Arbuthnot. The boy was the owner of Gardiner's Island, and the Admiral in a jovial mood remarked to him, "You have a nice snug farm, but the fences are all going to decay. With a few dollars I could easily buy it off you." To this Dr. Buell, who was the boy's grandfather, remarked, "If you can do that, the boy is

neither a Buell nor a Gardiner!" Finally three cannon were fired and the visitors were piped ashore in barges.

The eleven warships and several frigates had arrived in September, and they were moored in a line from Cherry Harbor Point to the Oysterponds (Orient Point), with their handsome stern-boards revealing their names — *Culloden*; *Royal Oak*; *Robuste*; *Bedford*; *London*, which was Admiral Graves' flagship; *Prudent*; *America*; *Shrewsbury*; *Europe*; *Rising Sun*; and *The Swan* — clear for all to see.

During that winter more than a hundred officers were quartered in the manor house on Gardiner's Island. The sailors requisitioned what they required from the neighboring inhabitants, but were ordered to pay for all they took. Some men came ashore to get horses for the officers, but most of the domestic animals had already been removed by the British in their 1775 raid. Drunkenness was a serious problem, and all too frequently there would be a group of noisy sailors around the manor house. Everything was in danger of theft, and the Gardiners took their whale boat up into the yard to prevent the sailors from running off with it. The Admiral thought that they did this to prevent desertion and was very pleased.

On October 4th Arbuthnot wrote to Rodney: "I shall put to Sea immediately and keep a vigilant look out on the movements of Chavelier de Ternay and his Squadron which is yet at Rhode Island, and ready for Sea."

One month later, Rodney ordered Arbuthnot to dispatch the *Culloden* and *Centaur* to join him off Sandy Hook "as soon as possible after the *Prudent* and *America* have rejoin'd your Squadron." These men-of-war were assigned to West Indies Station. Rodney later told Arbuthnot that should he want to keep the *Culloden*, he might send Commodore Drake with the *Russel* in her place. Arbuthnot decided to retain the *Culloden*, sending the *Centaur* and *Russel* to join Rodney at the island of Barbados.

Since de Ternay had not left Newport as Rodney believed, Admiral Graves did not sail for the West Indies according to plan. On November 19th Rodney left Sandy Hook for the Leeward Islands, after assigning three frigates to Arbuthnot's fleet. He took the *Resolution* (74 guns) and left the *Russel* (74) in her place.

No sooner had Rodney left Sandy Hook, when Arbuthnot set out for New York. He had deliberately avoided Rodney during the entire time the fleet was there, and now he came to turn out all the officers whom Rodney had appointed. Arbuthnot, who was

Wed day 17th

17th 81 days. Monte Carmel Dist. Lat in Long in
a boat

Wednesday 24th NE -

Thursday 25th W

Friday 26th WSW

Saturday 27th SE.

Shot a fount at York. Took in thing Island.

People in boat
in North Rock
in North Rock

Remarks &c.

First part of the 24 hours, squally with hail and
Middle & latter more moderate, the part to 12 m.
and out all the boats, (Ditto) towed all round the ship,
and as fast water at the ships bows, and 13th at her
bow, at that time being the flood, and found that
had she been in the channel of fast abutment of the
carried out the stream anchor and cable to the
shore was exposed water, the Medway Indians
of the 1st April water, at 1/2 past nine found the
bulges on the Starboard bow and the water coming
very fast, then immediately turned all hands to save
board and other provisions, at 10 AM there was
fast water in the hold, the people employed getting
visions and other things on shore
water and fast M. Comp. brooking up and sending on shore
visions, and other provisions & carpenters stores, toasting
at 1/2 past anchor near the William Transport, from
down Poland Bay.
Provisions and Cloudy M. All hands camp in Haddington
windy on shore provisions, launch & other boats
in landing stores on board the William Transport,
at a purchase for getting the guns out, anchored near
Adventure Briggs from Gardner Poland Bay.
Hard M. and a heavy. Middle & latter fresh breeze at rain
and some a long with the fog, which 17 light rain poured
ages &c. and sundry other gunners stores, likewise, a whole
of 10 m. in sending stores on board the William
shot, and hauling up provisions, and sending on shore
at even self sent on shore all the people with their
visions, clothes &c. to the tents erected for that
mode

The men are encamped ashore.



THE RIGHT HON^{ble} THOMAS LORD GRAVES,

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE.

Courtesy of the New York Public Library

quite sickly, was about seventy at the time. He never was considered a good seaman, but, nevertheless, was rather a salty character in his speech and actions, which were, incidentally, criticised in accounts published during his lifetime. He was extremely moody and unpredictable. The Admiral was a very good letter writer, for he may well have acquired some of his literary talent from his relative Dr. John Arbuthnot, the famous physician and writer, who founded the Scriblerus Club with Swift, Gay, Pope, and Parnell.

In November, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Arbuthnot stating that naval protection of Long Island was paramount, lest the French and Americans seize the eastern sector of the Island. He believed that the local populace, who were in sympathy with the American cause, would join them. In December, Arbuthnot received orders from the Admiralty to take five ships-of-the-line and proceed to the Leeward Islands as soon as he deemed possible. Clinton implored him not to obey the order and asked that he stay on with the fleet at Gardiner's Island — at least until January. Clinton's plea was very powerful, and Arbuthnot soon acquiesced.

X. THE CHASE

On January 20, 1781, after official word reached the fleet that one man-of-war and two frigates were about to leave de Touche's (he had replaced M. Ternay) squadron at Newport. The enemy planned to run the British blockade in an attempt to reach a convoy.

Admiral Arbuthnot happened to be in New York at the time, so Admiral Graves, then the officer in command, realizing the importance of the French move, on his own initiative signaled the captains of the *Culloden*, *Bedford*, and *America* to come aboard the *Royal Oak*. In the cabin of his flagship he instructed them to chase and capture the French warships.

That same afternoon the *Bedford* set sail, but since the wind was extremely difficult she had to clear Gardiner's Bay in very short tacks. The following morning, shortly after daybreak, the *Culloden* struck up her sails, and soon cleared sandy Cherry Hill Point on Gardiner's Island. By noon the *Culloden* joined the *America* and *Bedford* in Block Island Sound, and they were under way by one o'clock that afternoon.

The days previous had been rather fair, but towards the afternoon and evening of the 23rd, Winter unleashed in all its fury. Winds and strong gales lashed the ships with sleet and driving snow, while the freezing lookouts could see nothing through the haze. In a futile effort to locate the *Bedford* and the *America*, *Culloden* fired a position signal with her heavy guns. This action led the fleet at Gardiner's Bay to believe that she was in distress. The *Culloden's* signal was useless, and the blinding storm almost completely hid the ships from one another.

The *Bedford* was having a rough go of it; she was driven so close to shore that her anchor was thrown over, and in a final attempt to save her, the masts were cut away. Meanwhile, on the 24th Graves, who was greatly worried by this time, sent out the *Adamant* (50 guns) with Capt. Affleck commanding, in order to reconnoiter the enemy.

The *Culloden's* coppered hull was battered by the mountainous seas. Tons of foaming, cold water came crashing upon her slippery decks throughout that trying night. During the first watch, the *Culloden* had been blindly following in the wake of the *Bedford*.

The ship was put under the care of the pilot at 10 p.m., and he reassured Capt. Balfour and the officers that there was no immediate danger. At 12 p.m., the *Bedford's* lights were still visible, but soon the weather thickened. Even then, the pilot and 2nd Lieutenant, Walter Harris, did not feel that there was any distress. The hand lead, which was 18 to 20 fathoms long, was thrown over every half hour, but it did not strike ground.

Captain Balfour remained on deck until 10 p.m., when he retired to his quarters, after leaving instructions that the officer of the watch should call if it would be necessary for him to be on deck. A little after midnight, Harris was relieved by John Cannon, the 3rd Lieutenant, who was assigned the middle watch. By this time the *Bedford's* lights were still visible about half a mile off. Half past twelve, the *Bedford* came about and Cannon went to Balfour's cabin, telling him of the change in course. The Captain decided that since they were not positive of their course, they should not likewise come about. Soon after Cannon returned to the main deck, the main tops'l blew out with a thundering sound. And then all sight of the *Bedford* was lost.

A crewman continued taking soundings every half hour, in keeping with Admiralty regulations, but there was still no bottom at twenty fathoms. None of the officers were on the deck at the time, and so Lt. Cannon ordered the bosun's mate to turn out all hands at one o'clock.

The 4th Lieutenant, Ralph Grey, came on deck at 4 a.m. He was instructed to follow the directions left by the pilot, and to report anything important directly to the Captain. At that time, Balfour was in his cabin discussing the situation with the pilot.

XI. LAND CLOSE ON THE LEE BOW!

The crew was belaying a sheet, when suddenly someone shouted excitedly that land and breakers were close on the lee bow. Grey ran over to the rail and saw the ship heading ESE directly for shore. Balfour, who came on deck, immediately gave orders to cut away the anchors, and Grey quickly passed the command on, but before it could be completed, the powerful *Culloden* had run fast around.

The land was barely visible in the inky darkness, and the pilot felt that they were ashore at Block Island, only to realize, at day-break, that she lay fast off Will's Point (which was also known as North Neck) near the eastern edge of Fort Pond Bay on Long Island. Since it was still dark, there was nothing to do but wait patiently for the first traces of daylight. Soon after she had struck, the rudder broke in two and was lost.

Lt. Grey, writing in the ship's log, states that, "... at 8 a.m. we backed her head off shore, then filled and endeavoured to run her off, but her bow came around to the westward and lay fast." He continues, "... at 10 the gale increased, also the sea, she laboured and strained much."

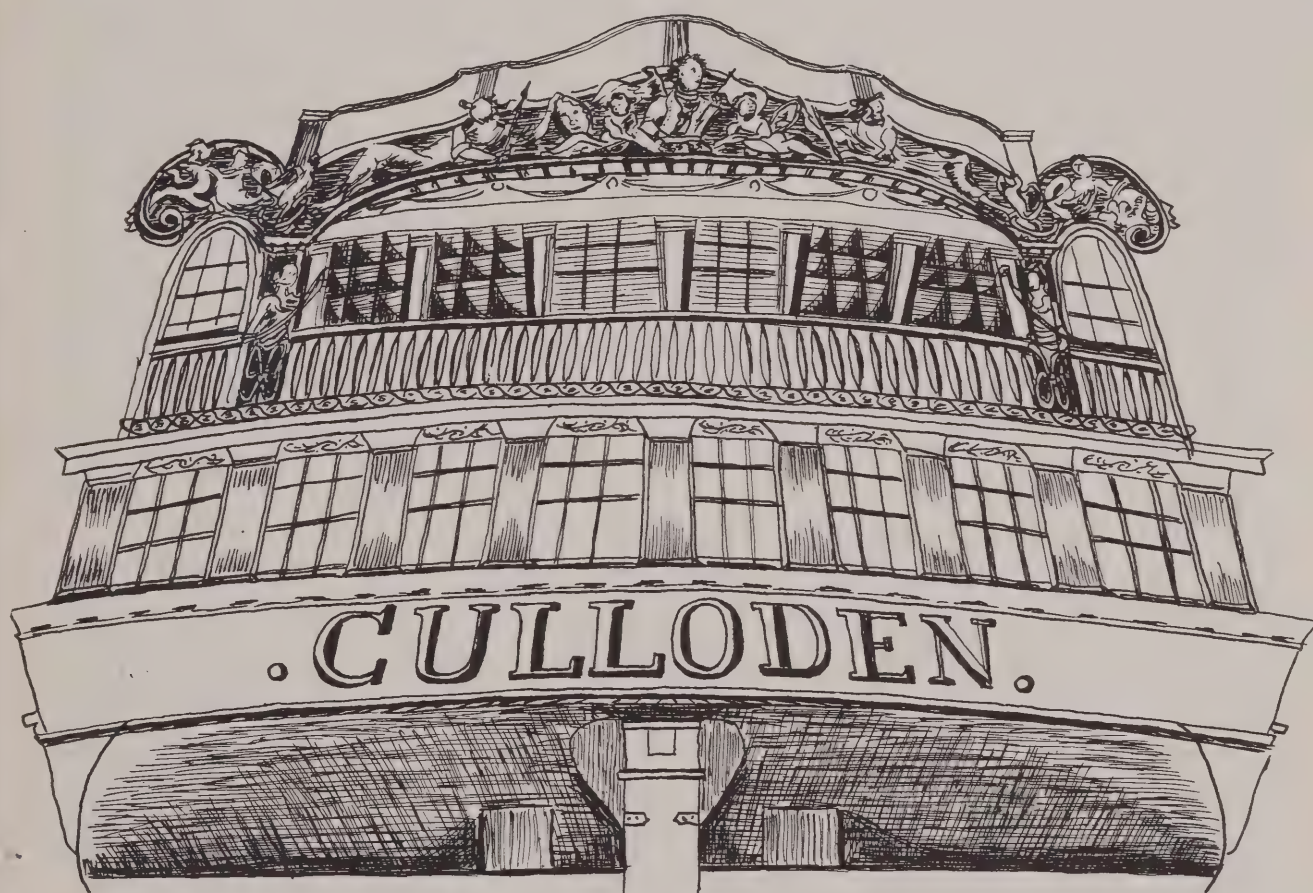
The carpenters, pelted by freezing hail and sleet, were ordered to cut away the main and top masts so as to ease the ship. The rest of the crew was busily manning the pumps, and clearing the decks of wreckage. They pumped all that day, but Balfour feared that the seams had split, and that the oakum was out, because there was a great deal of sand and gravel in the water that was pumped out. He was relieved that there were no large rocks in the area.

The tempest raged through the night, finally breaking during the afternoon of the 24th. Early that morning, Balfour ordered the boats to be lowered, so that the damage could be surveyed. The ship was found to have firmly wedged herself into the sand — nine feet aft and five feet fore — with fifteen feet of water at the bow, and thirteen feet at the stern, the tide being three-quarters high.

Balfour was quick to see the gravity of the situation, and he was afraid that he would never run her off, but with true British determination, the Captain ordered the crew to take the stern anchor and cable into deep water in a final endeavor to pull the ship off the beach.

"We made every effort to get her off at high water," wrote Lieutenant Grey. But even this was not enough. After another hour the carpenter ran to the Captain, who was making out reports at the time, and told Balfour that the planks gave on the starboard bow, with six feet of water already in the hold. She continued taking on water very fast. By ten that morning, nine feet of water was reported below decks.

The *Culloden* had come to her last resting place.



Drawing by Marion E. Malinka

Stern of the *Culloden*.

XII. SALVAGING THE REMAINS

The Captain instructed the crew to get everything possible ashore, and into tents erected for them. The men were told to work quickly to save the powder, gunner's stores, blocks, sails, pitch and tar, and carpenter's stores, which were kept fore, and to bring the bread from the holds abaft and place it ashore to dry. The weather became bleak and dismal, and it was difficult work pitching the tents in the soft, muddy ground. Later, Balfour sent some officers with the ship's barge to Gardiner's Bay to report the loss of the *Culloden* to Admiral Arbuthnot.

While the *Culloden* and *Bedford* suffered greatly at the grips of the weather, the *America*, her hull battered and greatly loosened, did not fare very much better. She was swept down to the Virginia Capes, taking almost two weeks to return. Ironically, the French ships were unharmed, having returned to Newport a day before the gale. General Robertson had said that, "We have the inhuman consolation to hope the French have fared worse."

Much to everyone's relief, it was moderate and fair on the 25th. The *Culloden* was a total loss, but everything of value had to be salvaged, lest it fall into enemy hands. During that day, the transport *William* came across from Gardiner's Bay to take on stores and raise out some of the guns with blocks and tackles. In the meantime the crewmen were tending the camp in the hills at Will's Point.

On the 26th, the brig *Adventure* came from Gardiner's Bay, and anchored off shore for the night. The following day she came alongside the wrecked vessel and took on 17 eighteen pounders, some carriages, gunner's stores, and a spare anchor. These were transferred, along with other provisions, to the *William*. Meanwhile, the men managed to save what personal belongings, hammocks, and clothes they could, and took them ashore to dry.

On the afternoon of the 29th, the *William* took on board the three best bower cables, 6 eighteen pounders, and miscellaneous boatswain's, carpenter's, and gunner's stores. At the same time, the carpenters stripped the mizzen mast and put the rigging aboard the *William*, so that it might be used to jury rig the dismasted *Bedford*, but they soon found that they could not get the lower masts out until the weather improved.

On the 30th, a brig pulled alongside, and took on board 5 eighteen and 4 nine pounders, some carriages, as well as various bosun's and carpenter's stores. Twenty-eight sick men were taken to Gardiner's Bay in two transports on the 1st of February.

During the next few days, the crew was getting the bowsprit out, which was a difficult task, considering the poor weather. The job was finally accomplished on the 6th, when the brig *Endeavour* pulled up and took on the bowsprit, as well as the quarter-deck guns, sheet cables, and more ordnance stores.

The *William* arrived again on the following day, but her boats could not pass through the treacherous, raging surf. During the 8th, most of the rigging was cut away and put aboard the transport, and used to refit the *Bedford*.

The 9th, 10th, and 11th of February were bitter days with driving snow, strong gales, and fierce, pounding breakers. The weather cleared on February 12th, and more rigging and gun carriages were loaded aboard the *William*. Towards afternoon, the flagship *Royal Oak* sailed over from Gardiner's Bay to pick up the lower masts. When she returned to the Bay, she pulled alongside the *London* and *Bedford* to discharge the masts. That morning, a sloop had picked up two bower anchors; in the meantime, the frigate *Guadaloupe* was anchored close offshore.

On February 13th, the men, weary from over two weeks of back-breaking labor in frightful weather, got the bowsprit and foreyard rigging and the purser's stores aboard the *William*. The carpenters had the mizzen mast out by now, and the main mast was ready to be taken up by shears. After a number of sick men were placed on board, the *William* sailed for Gardiner's Bay.

Still more rigging was needed to fit out the crippled *Bedford*, and so on the 14th of February the carpenters got the entire topmast and main cap down, and then placed them overboard. With most of the salvage operations completed, the brig *Endeavour* sailed for Gardiner's Island Bay with an officer and sixty-four ratings. In the weeks to come, the men worked diligently to remove and recover as much as possible, and when that was accomplished, the ravaged hulk was burned to the water line. In all, the British had removed most of the stores, rigging, and at least forty-six needed cannon.

After the last bits of *Culloden's* rigging had been put into place by the 5th, the *Bedford* was ready for sea. On March 9th, four days later, she sailed. William Green, a purser with *Arbuthnot*, wrote,

"The expedition used in refitting the dismantled *Bedford*, equalled if not exceeded, anything of the kind I ever saw in any of the King's yards."

The French, through their spies, were soon aware that they had gained a great advantage through the wreck of the *Culloden*, the dismantling of the *Bedford*, and the absence of the *America*. At one time while the *America* was missing, the French believed the *Bedford* was lost, and so they planned to attack, but later decided to abandon this plan after their agents had seen the British fleet at Gardiner's Bay.

Arbuthnot was still quite ill when he returned from New York on January 29th. After an exhausting ride, he managed to write to Sir Henry Clinton that, ". . . this accident had placed me inferior to the French but I will put on a bold countenance, but I would wish that your Excellency would order an Engineer to assist in doing of a work at the point at the entrance of Gardiners Bay."

Clinton dispatched the brig *Keppel* as soon as he had received the request, but Arbuthnot wrote to him on February 9th that, "I beg your Excellency's pardon for being so hasty in requesting the aid of an Engineer which soon after I found to be premature, but I am much obliged to you for your ready acquiescence in my request." The previous day he had written the reason for changing his mind: "Upon minutely viewing the ground near where the ships can lie I find a Battery cannot do us the smallest service; in this Bay I will not therefore trouble you — Excellency for the existence of an Engineer." He also had reported that his cold continued obstinate.

In this letter, Arbuthnot had likewise noted that on February 3rd, a "French officer landed from New London in a whale boat on Plumb Island and made a minute enquiry of our forces."

While the *Bedford* was being rerigged at Gardiner's Island, the French attempted to attack the British naval force which was to co-operate with Brig.-General Arnold in Virginia. The copper bottomed *Eveille* (64 guns) and two frigates, which were to take part in the action, left the base at Rhode Island on February 19th.

The salvaging of the *Culloden* was finished on March 1st. After over two month's delay, the fleet was ready on March 9th, sailed on the 10th, and cleared Long Island, bound for Virginia, on that day.

XIII. THE COURT MARTIAL

A court martial was held on board the *London* in Lynnhaven Bay, Virginia on March 28th, 1781. Admiral Graves served as Judge Advocate over the twelve captains who constituted the court. The trial had been ordered by Admiral Arbuthnot the day previous, with Captain Balfour, the officers, company, and the pilot to be tried for the loss of the *Culloden*.

It seemed, through an investigation Arbuthnot conducted, that the pilot had thought he had cleared Montauk Point, and that they might safely bear due south. Of course, the pilot was in error, and when Balfour ordered a due southward course, the ship inevitably ran ashore because they failed to realize that she had not actually weathered the point.

Oddly enough, this was never mentioned in the testimony given during the trial; the pilot merely being reprimanded for using the *hand* lead, when he should, by Admiralty regulation, have been using the *deep sea* lead every half hour. In Beatson's *Memoirs* there is a note stating that the pilot "complained that the men did not turn out when ordered, otherwise he (the pilot) said that the ship might have been saved."

The court martial resulted in Captain Balfour, the officers, and men being honorably acquitted.

After the loss of his ship, Balfour served as a volunteer aboard the *Royal Oak* for six weeks. He had been appointed to the rank of captain on July 26, 1758, and was superannuated Rear-Admiral in 1787. He died June 28, 1794.

XIV. CONTROVERSIAL CANNON

On September 11, 1782, the *Warwick* (50 guns), Captain George K. Elphinstone in command, the *Lion* (64), and two or three frigates, which were cruising in Delaware Bay, came across the French ship *L'Aigle*, which was under the command of Count de la Touche, the former commander of the French Rhode Island squadron. The British immediately gave chase, capturing the *L'Aigle*, but la Touche and several other dignitaries escaped with much treasure in a long boat.

The *L'Aigle* (40) was rumored to be the finest ship of her rate in the French Navy at that time — she was coppered and only two years old. The Royal Navy purchased her from the captors, and it soon was realized that she carried very heavy guns for a frigate that size. The vessel had British cast guns: 28 twenty-four pounders on the maindeck, and 12 nine pounders on the quarterdeck and fore-castle.

Elphinstone told Rear-Admiral Digby, who was then commander-in-chief of North America Station, that, according to his estimations, the *L'Aigle's* metal was much too heavy. Subsequently, Digby wrote to Sir Guy Carlton, who had succeeded Clinton as commander-in-chief of the Army, and asked him if he might have the eighteen pounders which had been salvaged from the *Culloden*. These guns happened to be on loan to the Army at the time. Digby stated that he had General Martin's permission to negotiate an exchange — provided that the *Culloden's* guns were replaced with eighteen or twenty-four pounders.

There were enough twenty-four pounders aboard the *L'Aigle* to complete the deal, and it would seem that this would satisfy all parties, especially since the guns were only on loan from the Navy. But Carleton gave orders to Martin not to deliver either the *Culloden's* or the *Defiance's* guns to the Navy, unless they were permanently replaced with others. This annoyed Digby, who wrote to Carleton on the 18th of October, emphasizing that, in the first place, the guns were only on loan to the Army; secondly, he offered to sell the 22 twenty-four pounders from the *L'Aigle* to them, and asked, in effect, what difference it would make if the Army or Navy bought them, since both services were fighting under the same Crown. He told Carleton that if he refused to buy the guns, the Navy would not hesitate to purchase them.

At last on October 21st, Elphinstone informed Admiral Digby of a proposal by the Army. The guns from the *Culloden* and *Defiance* would be returned, but still provided that the Navy replace them with the twenty-four pounders from the *L'Aigle*. Glancing back upon this incident today, these seem but petty differences during times of great strife.

XV. LURE OF SALVAGE

Soon after winter had ended, and the British had left Long Island, a crew under Joseph Woodbridge of Groton, Conn., salvaged sixteen of the *Culloden's* thirty-two pound upper tier guns. He wrote to General George Washington on July 24th, 1781, offering these cannon, which weighed 5,500 pounds each, for sale to the Continental Army. He told Washington that he could deliver them immediately at Fairfield, Conn., and if need be he could probably get out and deliver fourteen additional pieces and a quantity of shot.

Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., Washington's secretary, wrote to Woodbridge on September 3rd, telling him that, since Washington was on a march to the southward with the Army, he would not be able to negotiate for the cannon. He left the matter to Robert Morris, who was the Financier General of the States.

On November 8th, Morris wrote from the Office of Finance that the government could not meet the payments Woodbridge had proposed, at least until taxes were collected from the States. He mentioned to Woodbridge that the Office of Finance could do nothing until the interest payments on the Continental Government debts were paid, and asked that he be allowed to await the return of Washington and the Army from Virginia, since it was his understanding that they had no difficulty acquiring cannon there.

Unfortunately, no one knows the outcome of the cannon or Mr. Woodbridge's proposal. Careful searches and inquiries have failed to turn up any trace of the missing cannon, but who knows, they may be reposing on the village green of any of the hundreds of New England towns.

There were, unquestionably, many attempts to recover salvage from the wreck of the *Culloden* in the years that followed, but the only project recorded after Woodbridge's was that of Capt. Samuel Jeffers of the sloop *Mary-Ann*². Jeffers and his crew, utilizing a diving bell, brought up twelve tons of pig iron and a thirty-two pounder from the rotting hulk of the *Culloden*.

The *Mary-Ann* arrived with the salvaged metal at Newport, Rhode Island on July 14, 1815. Captain Jeffers conducted similar operations throughout that summer, for later that month he arrived in Newport from Point Judith with a number of iron knees and an anchor weighing "upwards of 3000 wt.," taken from the British frigate *Syren* (28 guns), which was wrecked during the Revolution.

²—The sloop *Mary-Ann* of Newport was built in 1812 at Freetown, Mass. She was 39 tons in weight, and her dimensions were 44 ft. 2 in. x 17 ft. 4 in. x 6 ft. 4 in. The vessel had one deck, one mast, and no figurehead. In 1815, her owners were Asa Brooks and Samuel Jeffers of Newport, and Gilbert Chace of Freetown. On December 20th, 1819, her hailing port was changed to Southport, New York. The *Mary-Ann's* papers were surrendered on February 24th, 1820, at Sag Harbor, New York.

Groton July 24th 1781

Sir,

Since the Misfortune that Befel
the Enemy Ship Culloden, in the Sound, I have
had the good Fortune to get up Sixteen of her
Upper Tier Guns, 32 Pounders, Wt About 55.
And Understanding that Your Excellency, has had Pleasure
to Direct a Number of Heavy Cannon to be Transported
from the Eastward, for the Use of the Army Westward.

I have to Inform, that if any further Occasion
Should Require Any More:— I Should be Very Happy
in Supplying Your Excellency with the Same, upon
Reasonable Terms, and Convenient Pay for the Continent.

Could Immediately Deliver them at Fairfield:—
if Wanted who could Possibly Procure, & furnish Gunpowder
more, together with a Quantity of Shot. —
I have the Honour to be, in Every Respect,
Your Excellency most Obedient, most Devoted

Servant.
Joseph Woodbridge

His Excellency Gen^l Washington

4971 Phila 3^d Septem^r 1781

1772

I have this day been favored with your
letter ^{of the} ^{also} respecting the heavy Canon of the Culloden.

Being on my March with the Army
to the Continent I shall not have opportunity
now to complete the purchase with you — I have
referred your letter & proposals to Rob^t Morris Esq^r
Financial Agent of the States — You may expect
to hear from him very soon on the subject.

I am Sir Yours^t G.W.

2-16-1

2-16-1
To Joseph Woodbridge

Courtesy Library of Congress

Letter from George Washington to Joseph Woodbridge referring his letter concerning
purchase of the cannon salvaged from the Culloden to Robert Morris.

Mr. Joseph Woodbridge

Office of Finance 8th Novem. 1781.

Sir.

Your Letter of the 15th Ult^o came safe by the last Post, it is very true that His Excell^{ty} Gen^l Washington put into my Hands your Letter of the 17th August to him, respecting the Cannon you mention my attention however has been called by so many pressing Objects that did not admit of Delay, it was not in my Power to do any thing in this matter, especially as I had not Money to spare for the first Payment you proposed: this still the Case and must continue so until the several States, will levy Taxes for Continental Service somewhat equivalent to the bills. I am in hopes they will speedily grant a Revenue sufficient to pay the Interest of our Debts and if you can see your way clear to admit of the whole Amount being Funded it will be a considerable Inducement to make the purchase. But at any rate I shall defer it until his Excell^{ty} Gen^l Washington's return: As the Acquisition of Cannon in Virginia is very considerable and no immediate Necessity for any Addition occurs I shall be glad to hear from you in Answer to this and after the General's arrival here I will write to you again.

Being Sir

your obedient

Humble Servant

RM

XVI. THE YEARS PASS BY

In keeping with the custom of the day, Will's Point soon became known as Culloden Point. It is not known exactly when the present name came into vogue, but it appeared on charts as early as mid-nineteenth century.

Wreckage from the *Culloden* was washed ashore for many years, but unfortunately there are but scant records and a few rumors of finds available today. Mrs. Jeannette Edwards Rattray, in her books and newspaper articles, tells of Emerson Taber, a lobsterman who has lived at Montauk all his life. She recalls that Mr. Taber told her many times about the wreck of the *Culloden*, adding that he remembers seeing some wreckage at the Point as long as he could recollect. Mrs. Rattray at one time saw the ship's tide-worn ribs sticking up from the water some four to six feet.

Little remains of His Majesty's Ship *Culloden* today. For many years, a large piece of the ship's apron, about sixty feet long, and believed to have come from the *Culloden*, lay half buried in the sand a short distance west of the Point. It is unfortunate that this last substantial piece of wreckage was mysteriously burned during the summer of 1958. All that remains now are some scattered, rusted wrought iron pins.

Club Sous-Marin of Long Island, as well as several other under-sea research groups, has searched the waters in the Culloden Point Area, but there have been no finds of any value as yet. Club Sous-Marin did, however, locate several large deck beams believed to have been from the *Culloden*, and plans are being made to locate a greater share of the wreck through systematic scientific exploration in the near future. Just what these studies will uncover might well be the beginnings of still another story.

APPENDIX

*Cannon known to have been Recovered from H. M. S. CULLODEN**

Pounds (weight of projectile)	Placement	Number of Guns Recovered
32	Gundeck	17
18	Upperdeck	28
9	Quarter Deck	14
9	Fore Castle	4
		63

* These figures are accurate insofar as they were taken from records available to the authors at the time of publication.

GLOSSARY

APRON — Also known as the stomach piece. A piece of curved timber which is bolted on the inside of a vessel's main-stem in order to strengthen it.

BOWER CABLES — The cables of the heaviest of the two anchors carried in the bow of a ship. The bower anchors were those used for anchoring under ordinary conditions of wind and sea.

BOWSPRIT — A large and strong spar which runs out from a vessel's bow. To this all the stays of the fore-mast are secured.

BURTHEN — A form of the word "burden."

COUP de MAIN — A surprise attack.

FORECASTLE — Foremost part of the upper-deck.

FRIGATE — A particular kind of ship of war constructed with a special view to swiftness of sailing and therefore well adapted for cruising.

QUARTER DECK — Aftermost deck.

SHIP-OF-THE-LINE — Ship of war of sufficient force to have a station in the line of battle. Sometimes it is a ship of upwards of 64 guns.

RATE — Denotes the ships' firepower and complement.

1st Rate — 110+ guns, or 1,000+ men.

2nd Rate — H. M. Yachts and all ships under 110 and more than 80 guns, or under 1,000 and not less than 800 men.

3rd Rate — H. M. Yachts, including such vessels as bear the flag or pendant of an Admiral Superintendent or a Captain Superintendent of a Dockyard and all ships of 60-80 guns and 600-800 men.

4th Rate — All frigate-built ships of more than 410 men.

5th Rate — 300-410 men.

6th Rate — All other ships commanded by a Captain.

SLOOP-OF-WAR — A vessel commanded by a commander.

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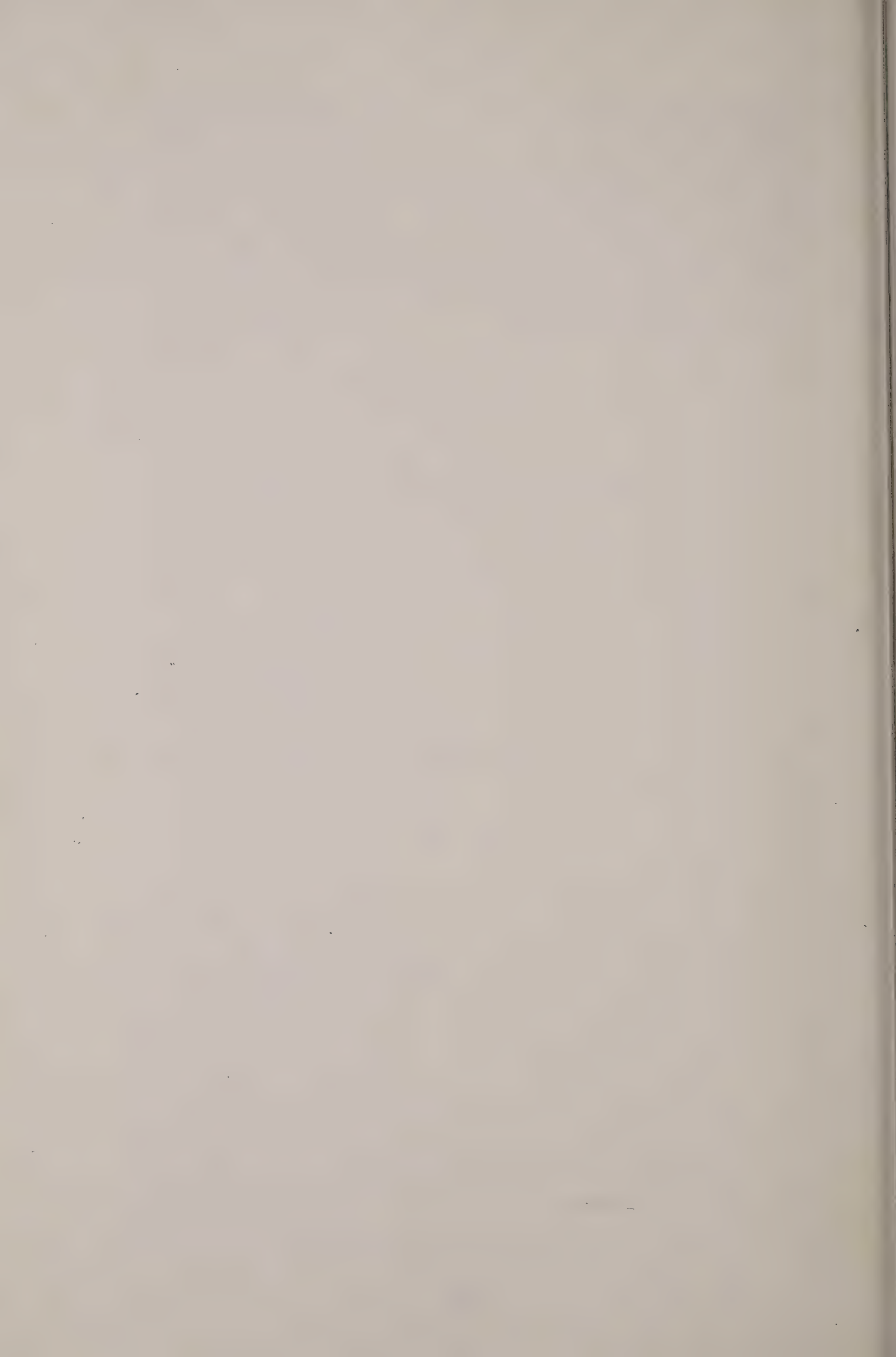
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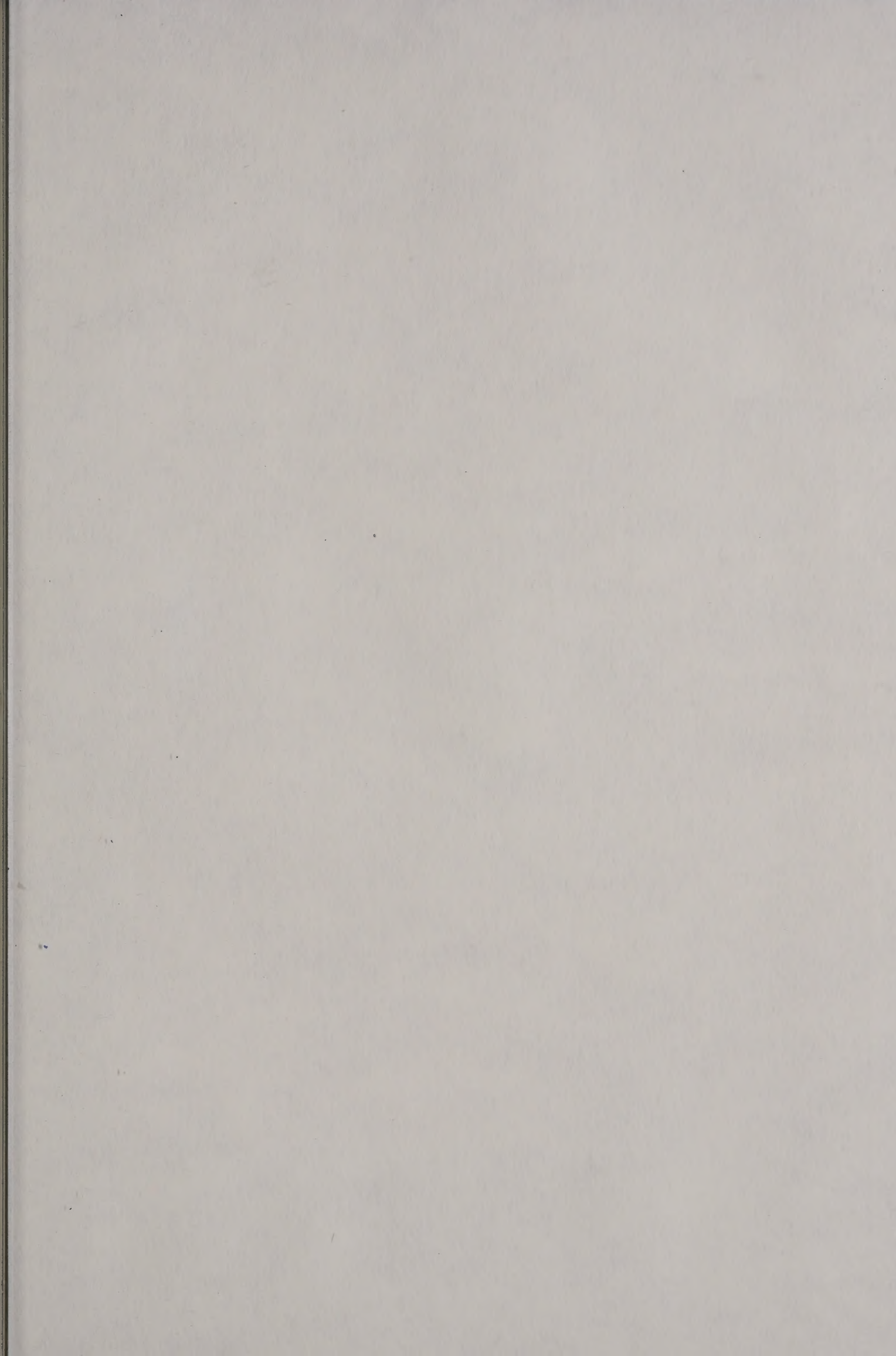
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